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industries of the world from the perils of violence. Not much less important is the convention declaring the territory of neutrals inviolable. This is only an embodiment in the form of international law of what has in most cases in recent years been the practice of the leading powers.

The convention which extends the principles of the Geneva Red Cross Convention of 1864 to maritime warfare crystallizes into public international law what has already come to be substantially the practice of the leading maritime powers. This convention widens the application of the spirit of mercy and kindness, the spirit which is behind every phase of the peace movement, and will ultimately make war itself impossible. The conventions in regard to the placing of submarine mines, the prohibition of the throwing of projectiles and explosives from balloons, the restriction of the right of capture in maritime war, the one requiring a declaration of war before the opening of hostilities, and the others dealing with the laws and customs of war on land, the rights and duties of neutral powers in both land and maritime war, the transformation of merchantmen into warships, are all in the direction of the limitation and restriction of war. In these conventions the whole body of the nations of the world have for the first time in history jointly laid the hand of restriction heavily upon war. If these conventions shall be ratified by the powers and even reasonably well carried out, war will hereafter be much more difficult than in the past, and to this extent will be much less likely to occur.

The greatest work of the Conference was that done outside of what has been incorporated into these formal conventions. On the subject of limitation of armaments, on which such deep and widespread interest was felt in all countries, no practical agreement was reached. But the subject was much discussed in private at The Hague, and the urgency of the problem has been made much clearer through the resolution unanimously adopted declaring that the study of the question by the governments with a view to some early practical solution is "highly desirable"—these were the words of the resolution—in the interests of the people of the world. The same is true of the principle, so long advocated by our government, of the inviolability of all unoffending private property at sea in time of war. The greatest speech delivered in the Conference was made on this subject by Mr. Choate, and the principle received the hearty support of at least thirty-seven or thirty-eight of the powers. The measure was defeated by the opposition of the British government. But for this opposition, which is difficult to account for in a government professing to be highly civilized, the principle would now be a recognized part of public international law, as it certainly will be in a few years.

In the matter of a permanent International Court of Justice presented and urged so strongly by the American Delegation, the Conference reached practical, if not altogether formal agreement. The principle of such a court was adopted unanimously; this is most remarkable, as it was the first time that the proposition had been taken up and seriously discussed in a general international conference. The only failure was in reaching an agreement as to the method of selecting the judges. It is understood that this problem will be taken up by the governments

themselves. Prof. James Brown Scott, Solicitor of our State Department, who was the American technical international law expert at the Conference and drafted the plan for this Court, has publicly declared that the Conference has actually settled this matter, and that we shall have this great Supreme Court of the World as the result of the Conference.

On one other subject also the Conference rendered possibly the greatest of all its services. It declared unanimously in favor of periodic Hague conferences hereafter, and set the date for the meeting of the next conference, about seven years hence. It also provided that a special commission appointed by the governments shall be created some two years in advance to study and prepare the program of the third Hague Conference. The recent Conference has therefore not only laid the foundations for a periodic Congress or Parliament of the Nations, which has been advocated by all the great international men of the past century, indeed of the past three centuries, but by its provision for the third Conference has actually inaugurated the greatest possible institution which can be conceived in the interests of the order and peace of the world.

It would not be far from the truth if one should say that the greatest and most far-reaching result of the Conference was the Conference itself. That all, or practically all, of the nations of the world should meet in a general assembly and continue in session four months discussing with perfect frankness, and yet with absolute fairness and friendliness, the great problems in which they are all so deeply interested, is a fact of marvelous significance. If the Conference had done nothing else, it would have been worth a thousand times all that it cost. The difficulties of such a meeting were much greater than many suppose. It would not have been surprising if the historic dislikes and prejudices, the differences of race, language and judicial methods, the force of local interests and ambitions had made the gathering short-lived and valueless. But these were all overcome. The Conference lasted much longer than was expected, and the spirit of conciliation and concord grew in depth and strength to the very last. The experiment of a world assembly has been tried and proved a remarkable success. Other conferences will follow, and the world will no longer move in sections and halves, as heretofore, but as one united world; and the final, and we may hope not very remote, outcome will be the universal and perpetual peace which the great leaders of civilization and progress have so long seen coming.

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## The Churches and the Peace Movement.

BY REV. JAMES L. TRYON.

*Chairman of the Church Committee of the American Peace Society.*

Now that the governments have taken up the peace movement, the people everywhere must be taught its principles in order that it may have the support of an enlightened public opinion. The people must learn to be reasonable and self-restrained in times of national trial; more so now by far than in days when brute force rather than law was the reliance of a nation in securing justice. This applies also to local officials

in their treatment of citizens of other countries. As Secretary Root says in an article on "A Popular Understanding of International Law": "The true basis of peace among men is to be found in a just and considerate spirit among the people who rule our modern democracies, in their regard for the rights of other countries, and in their desire to be fair and kindly in the treatment of the subjects which give rise to international controversies."

#### COÖPERATION WITH INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONGRESSES.

But how can the churches help? By coming into relation with the peace movement. The need of their coöperation was seen at the last International Peace Congress at Munich, held in September, 1907. At its close, after an interesting discussion of the matter, a committee of volunteers from every country was authorized to prepare a plan by which churches and religious societies of every kind may in some way be connected with its work. Whether they will be invited to send delegates to the next Peace Congress, which will be held in London the last week of July next, has not yet been determined; but the question of their admission will doubtless be considered by the Committee of Arrangements. As the rules now stand, delegates, whether they happen to be church members or not, are received only from peace societies and those organizations which make peace a distinct part of their program; but should church delegates, as such, be admitted and come in large numbers, their accession would be a great encouragement to the peace workers and they would return to their denominations with inspiration and information which would strengthen the movement among the people.

#### ACTION IN STATE CONFERENCES.

But participation in International Peace Congresses is not the only way in which the churches can help the cause. They can speak for it through their State, diocesan or district conventions and conferences. Many conventions of churches held in America during the period before the second Hague Conference felt that their business was incomplete until they had passed resolutions favoring the most advanced program of internationalism. These resolutions they sent to the State Department or to our delegation at The Hague. Had they not passed such resolutions, they would have been behind the school teachers, the college students and boards of trade in their leadership of public morals. A friend, who was one of the officers of the Conference, tells me that had they done still more, had more letters and memorials been sent to the Conference and put into the hands of individual members, not side-tracked in committees, the Conference itself would have done more, as it was very sensitive to outside opinion. This is a lesson for the future.

#### THINGS AT PRESENT MOST DESIRED.

Although the Hague Conference is over, this is no time for us to rest. Everything that is done now goes just so far to prevent war, to save human life, and to establish justice on the basis of law among the nations. During the coming year every religious convention that permits the discussion of philanthropic subjects on its program should appoint a speaker or speakers to take up the peace movement. Resolutions and other expressions of sentiment should (1) encourage our government to

make arbitration treaties with all countries; (2) ask it to help put into operation at once the High Court of Nations, which only awaits an agreement as to the appointment of judges; and (3) urge it to promote the study of the limitation of armaments according to the vote passed at The Hague. This should include an investigation into the moral effect of increasing armaments on the problem of preserving peace.

#### THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF PEACE SOCIETIES IN AMERICA.

If you are a minister, teach arbitration and peace in your congregation. Inform your people; their good influence will go out to others and help create a desire for these things. By teaching your people you will join in the arrangements that the American Peace Society is making among the churches of various States. This Society, the oldest in America, and one of the most influential in the world in educating public sentiment, is planning through its members to have union meetings held at which peace and arbitration will be made a topic by one or more speakers, or, in some cases, to have a sermon preached by the pastor of a centrally-located church, who will invite his townspeople to his service. Some ministers will bring the subject before their Christian Endeavor workers. The American Peace Society, when requested, will send literature at the cost of postage to local speakers, to enable them to prepare themselves to advantage. The other Peace Societies, particularly of Connecticut and New York, are also active in interesting the churches in the peace cause. Between the efforts of these and other peace organizations, as well as the Peace Department of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which is always busy, and which, during the past year, reports hundreds of meetings held and sermons preached, the churches of the country are likely to do a great service in instructing the people in right international principles.

#### THE PREPARATION OF PEACE SERMONS.

The pastor may perhaps wonder how he can speak most effectively on the international situation. Take such a topic as "The Hague Conference and the Outlook for World Peace." Tell the people what great things have been done. Nothing is more certain to win their interest than this. Tell them especially what the last Hague Conference has accomplished. Show them that, instead of being a failure, it was a real success. Emphasize the fact that for the first time in history representatives of all the nations came together to discuss affairs of their mutual concern. This alone indicates that a new spirit — a more just and humane spirit — has come over the world. Explain that the making within a few years of more than forty treaties of obligatory arbitration by the nations in pairs, pledging them to arbitrate questions which do not involve vital interests, independence or national honor, prepares us for a single treaty of similar or even stronger import, which shall pledge all the nations to resort to arbitration. Make it understood that it was only by a small vote, and simply because unanimity and not a mere majority was required, that such a treaty, advocated eloquently by Ambassador Choate, was defeated at the second Hague Conference, but that it may be signed at the next Conference if we wake up and demand its adoption. Point out the fact that by the Porter Convention, which prohibits the forcible collection of contractual debts until arbitration

has been rejected by the debtor country, we already have one form of general obligatory arbitration. This measure will go far to prevent war by European upon South American nations that in the past have suffered from naval blockades, bombardments or other forms of coercion. In this connection, what South America has done for arbitration should be set forth. Give the people the story of what led to the erection of the great monument, the Christ of the Andes, a capital illustration of something which was actually done to prevent war between Chile and Argentine, and one that showed what the churches can do for peace when they want to help it along. Explain what a Congress of the Nations, for which the way is practically prepared by the provision for a third Conference, means. Show that we shall ultimately have in our international relations what we Americans preëminently stand for in our national life, namely, the principle of representative government. When the world is organized through a Congress of Nations, many questions that now lead to war will be settled by legislative action, just as conflicting interests between our States are successfully adjusted without war by our national Congress.

PLAIN WORDS NEEDED ON THE RIVALRY OF  
ARMAMENTS.

But besides doing justice to these great constructive measures, do not forget to speak plainly about the rivalry of armaments. It continues to go beyond all reason. It burdens the nations with debt when the inhabitants need for the necessities of life the money that is spent on war preparations. It takes hundreds of thousands of young men from their homes and their productive employments. It is doing more to-day to create suspicion and insecurity than all the questions that vex diplomacy put together. No preacher can conscientiously neglect this matter. If he does not understand it, let him read the speeches of Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, a distinguished senator of France, who was a member of both the Hague Conferences. The wise and conciliatory proposition of d'Estournelles to stop where we are should be met with an equally generous and sensible response from the statesmen of every nation, and particularly our own. The minister should call the attention of his congregation to the example of the United States and Canada, which after the war of 1812 agreed to have no forts or navies on the border line of the Great Lakes, and, to say nothing of millions of dollars saved by this arrangement, have lived side by side for nearly a century without fear of sudden surprise or collision.

Let us not leave extraordinary military and naval appropriations entirely to experts, or even committees of Congress, as has been suggested, but, faithful to our duty to shape the character of our nation rightly, let us have something to say about them, particularly in their moral bearings, ourselves.

Why have Hague Conferences to promote peace, and act as if the next moment we expected to shoot each other down? Whoever proves that the rivalry of armaments instead of preventing increases the danger of war, and persuades the nations to cultivate justice and friendship as the best safeguards of peace, will confer upon humanity the greatest social service of modern times. In all that makes for better international relations the churches should lead America and the world.

## Rank Among States not Determined by Their Military Standing.

DR. RUY BARBOSA.

*The Independent* (130 Fulton Street, New York,) has had translated and published in its issue of January 9 the memorable address on "The Equality of Sovereign States," delivered by Dr. Ruy Barbosa, head of the Brazilian delegation at The Hague, on October 9, about a week before the Conference closed. This was in some respects the most powerful and important speech delivered during the whole Conference, and *The Independent* has done a great service in bringing it to the knowledge of our citizens in an English translation. After developing, in an admirable manner, his thesis of "The Equality of Sovereign States," Dr. Barbosa closed his eloquent plea with the following arraignment of the theory that international greatness is determined only by armed force:

"No one denies that force has its rights. Alas! in this wretched world of ours it looks sometimes as if force owned every right and as if the worst crime were to be weak. The superstition regarding power has so pervaded human consciousness that many accept freely that the great powers possess not only big guns and men of war, but that they monopolize also that most rare and precious gift — the genius of justice and of inspiration. They claim that God is on the side of the largest battalions, a doctrine which we could accept unhesitatingly provided we think merely of the god of battles, Siva, the destroyer; or if we regard God as not only the savior, but also as the avenger of mortals. Even the doctrine of evolution has been perverted to justify worship for what is huge in size. The survival of the fittest is set forth to explain why almost divine honors are accorded to a government momentarily disposing of the greatest material force. But force does not imply qualities. Hugeness may even be an impediment to survival. The mammoth and the megatherium have been eliminated from among mammalia.

"The insolence of the giant in fairy tales — the classics of childhood — is as a rule only to be matched by his asininity. According to an old proverb, small packages contain the most precious treasures. Concerning individuals this truth is so universally accepted that the big woman from the Barnum circus is not widely considered as the most characteristic specimen of human excellence. Why should not this rule apply to states? Is the possibility of becoming more bulky, under the form of extensions of territory, a clear demonstration of political genius? The great empires are in the habit of entertaining exaggerated notions concerning themselves. Owing to their monopoly of armies and navies the world over, they can enact regulations for those armies and those navies, and this fact leads many among them to imagine that the control of armed force places in their hands the scepter of the universe. Nothing could be less true. We are willing to render unto the Cæsars of Berlin, St. Petersburg and London what belongs to Cæsar, but only unto God what belongs to God. And to God belong justice, law, independence, liberty and the right to individual sovereignty.